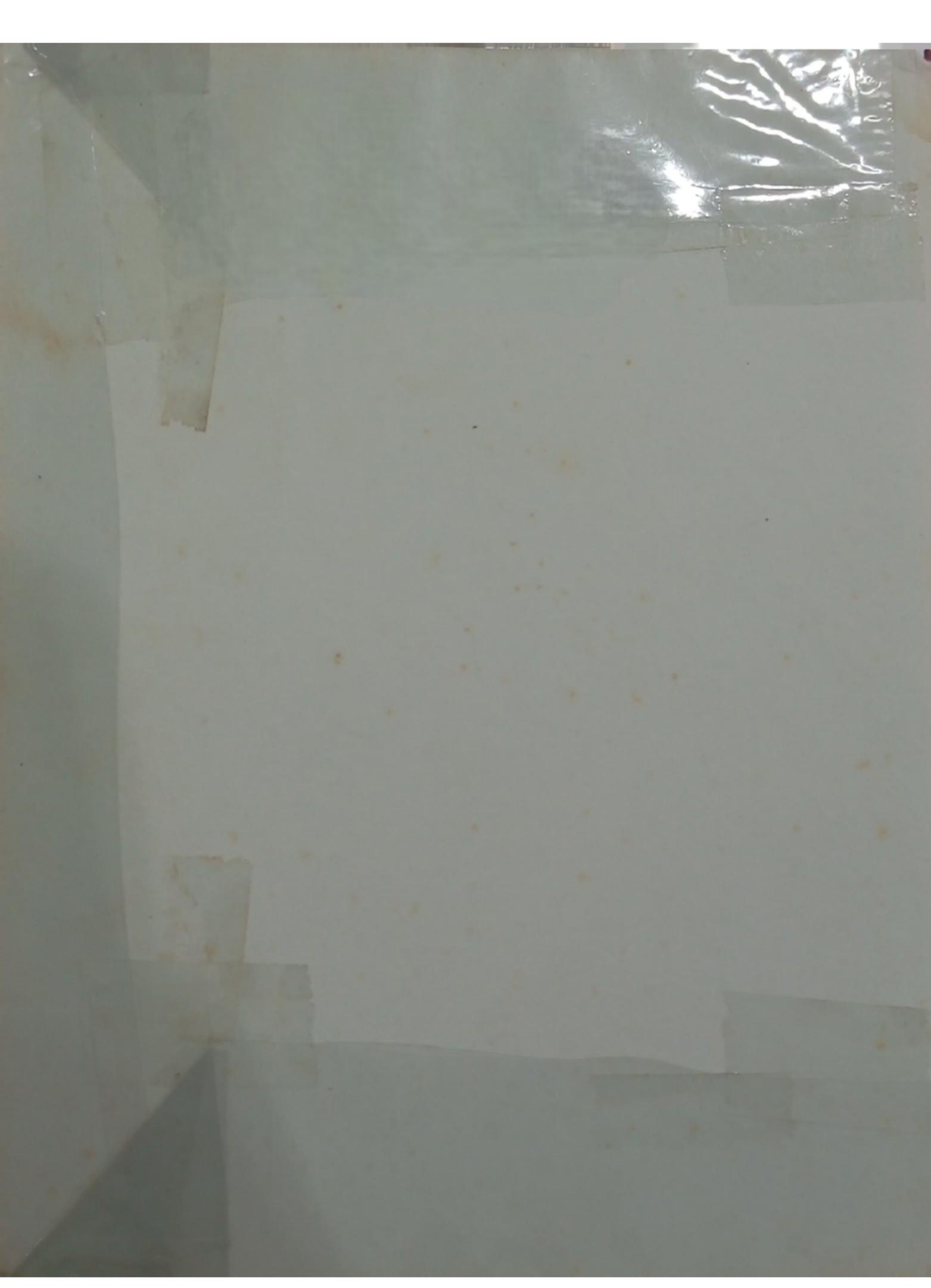




## **FERDINAND E. MARCOS:**

WAR HERO, NATIONAL LEADER,  
AND GREAT MAN OF PEACE

By Remigio E. Agpalo







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AND GREAT MAN OF PEACE**

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[Ferdinand E. Marcos was] a man who served his country during his youth and during World War II with patriotism, gave his vision and leadership to the Filipino people during the best years of his life, and sacrificed his personal interest and political power for peace and the lives of hundreds of Filipinos during the crucial moments of February 25, 1986.

Remigio E. Agpalo

Rarely is a national leader called upon to make a single decision as crucial to the future of his country as the one which you reached yesterday. I believe you have chosen wisely and that your decision, although encompassing considerable personal sacrifice, reflects your deep concern for the safety, welfare, and security of the Filipino people....

In your departure from power, you have demonstrated the very same remarkable courage and determination — you have chosen peace over confrontation, and democracy over anarchy. I believe that after all is said and done, your countrymen will remember you for this deed above all others.

Letter of Ronald Reagan  
to Ferdinand E. Marcos,  
February 26, 1986

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## **FERDINAND E. MARCOS:**

### **WAR HERO, NATIONAL LEADER, AND GREAT MAN OF PEACE**

Ferdinand E. Marcos was a great man of peace, with a keen sense of history. During World War II, he was a war hero. After World War II and before his death in 1989, he was a great national leader. As a national leader, he had an ideology or vision and a strong political organization. After a mutiny or coup d'etat led by Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and General Fidel V. Ramos, which was supported by Jaime Cardinal Sin and some one million people who demonstrated along Epifanio de los Santos (EDSA), Marcos was expatriated from the Philippines by the Americans and forced to be exiled in Hawaii.

Accused by his enemies of plundering his country's wealth and violating human rights, he was also subjected to a continuous, relentless, and savage propaganda that he was a dictator a la Hitler. From his exile in Hawaii, he sent to the Sandiganbayan a pleading, which also reached the Supreme Court, praying to return to his homeland to meet his accusers face-to-face in a trial not by publicity but by due process of law in order to vindicate his name and honor. The Sandiganbayan and the Supreme Court denied his plea. This denial by the two tribunals was cruel, unjust, and inhuman, but it was not fatal to the Marcos' case that cried for justice, for it showed dramatically to the entire world the stark contrast between, on the one hand, a man who served his country during his youth and during World War II with patriotism, gave his vision and leadership to the Filipino people during the best years of his life, and sacrificed his personal interest and political power for peace and the lives of hundreds of Filipinos during the crucial moments of February 25, 1986 and, on the other, a particular administration, which swore to give justice to every man, acting with cruelty, injustice, and inhumanity.

I

One of the most critical events of the twentieth century was the war waged by Japan in Asia and the Pacific Region during World War II in 1941-1945. In this war Japan invaded and conquered the Philippines, overrunning Bataan and Corregidor, forcing General Douglas MacArthur to leave the Philippines and President Manuel L. Quezon to go to the United States in order to establish a government-in-exile, and imposing a belligerent occupation of the country.

Ferdinand E. Marcos was a young man in his early twenties and a fresh graduate from the College of Law of the University of the Philippines during World War II. Like numerous young men of his generation, Marcos answered his country's call for the defense of the homeland from the invasion of the Japanese with alacrity, loyalty, and fervent patriotism.<sup>1</sup>

Marcos served in the army in the hills and rugged terrain of Bataan. The fighting in that historic province was fierce, brutal, and continuous until, owing to the overwhelming attacks by wave after wave of Japanese armed forces and lack of promised reinforcement of men and materiel from the United States, Bataan and Corregidor were surrendered by General Jonathan Wainwright to General Masaharu Homma in early 1942.

Marcos became a prisoner of war after the surrender of Bataan and Corregidor. Thereafter, he was one of the trekkers in the infamous Death March to Capas, Tarlac. The marchers in the long trek were kicked, beaten, starved, or subjected to various kinds of torture, both physical and mental, under the heat of the day and the cold of the night. As a consequence of this ordeal, hundreds died either from starvation, torture, and disease, or from attempts to escape from the Death March.

Marcos survived the Death March, but eventually he was brought to Manila and imprisoned in the dungeons of Fort Santiago. At the fort, Marcos was also tortured.

Marcos escaped from Fort Santiago. Thereafter, he became an organizer and leader of a *guerilla* group, which was called *Ang Mga Maharlika*. As a *guerillero*, Marcos' principal base of operations was Northern Luzon. However, he also participated in *guerilla* warfare in Southern Luzon.

His enemies and detractors accused that *Ang Mga Maharlika* was a fake *guerilla* unit, but Baclagon, an official historian of the military of the Philippines, recorded the establishment and contributions of *Ang Mga Maharlika* to the Philippine military history.

The record of Marcos and *Ang Mga Maharlika* was immortalized in General Order No. 152, Headquarters Philippine Army, Series of 1946. In this document, Marcos was named as an awardee of a Distinguished Service Star (DSS). The citation for Marcos in the DSS award recorded officially his career in the *guerilla* movement and his *Ang Mga Maharlika*. The citation read:

For the outstanding achievement as a *guerilla* and underground leader in the Philippines in World War II. After escaping from Fort Santiago Kempei Tai, then Major Marcos actively supported ex-Mayor Vicente Umali, later known as organizer and commanding general of President Quezon's Own Guerillas, in organizing a cohesive, effective, and efficient body. Despite his illness, he stayed in the PCOG Headquarters in Mt. Banahaw to guide both the staff and combat echelons. He refused the rank of "general" offered him by General Umali and organized his own *guerilla* group known as *Ang Mga Maharlika* with former USAFFE officers as leaders. Under his capable direction, this *guerilla* unit was responsible for the organization of an effective intelligence network in Luzon, harassment of the enemy and the burning of two ships at Pier 7 sometime in August 1944. Through his wise disposition of the propaganda, the morale of the underground fighters was maintained and the faith of the people in the cause of freedom was strengthened, thereby contributing to the effectiveness of organized resistance in the country until the coming of American Liberation forces.<sup>2</sup>

Marcos was cited for bravery in action in Bataan as early as January, 1942. The citation for Marcos on this occasion read as

follows:

For outstanding bravery in action against the enemy in his capacity as Combat Intelligence Officer of the 21st (Lightning) Division, USAFFE, at Bataan on 15 January 1942. When the main line of resistance of the 23rd Infantry Regiment at Abucay Hacienda, Bataan, had been pushed back several kilometers by the Japanese forces, and even the 31st Infantry (American Regiment) and the 5th Infantry (Philippine Scouts) failed to reestablish the line at its original position, then 3rd Lt. Ferdinand Marcos was ordered to locate the enemy's main concentration of troops with a patrol of one squad. He reconnoitered the position ahead of the assault units of the 23rd Infantry Regiment under orders. Notwithstanding his orders to report back to the Division Headquarters, he participated instead in the counterattack of the 23rd Infantry Regiment at the Abucay Hacienda under heavy aerial and artillery bombardment as well as intense and accurate small arms fire from which the 23rd Infantry Regiment suffered more than 300 casualties. By his act of bravery and coolness under fire, patrolling ahead of the assault troops, Lt. Marcos encouraged the men of the 23rd Infantry Regiment to aggressive and indomitable action, resulting in the reestablishment of the main line of resistance of the 41st Infantry, 41st Division (PA), under General Vicente Lim.<sup>3</sup>

Marcos was cited for valor in World War II in several other occasions. In these citations, he was awarded the other medals which were, according to Baclagon, "testimonials of his extraordinary services that made him the most decorated soldier and the Number One Hero of World War II."<sup>4</sup> This statement was not generally subjected to a vigorous critique in the early 1970's, but two weeks before and during the snap elections, on February 7, 1986, the critical statements on this matter became a deluge in the print and broadcast media,<sup>5</sup> ushering fallacious conclusions that Marcos was a fake military hero with fake medals. His *Ang Mga Maharlika* guerilla group was also said to be a fake guerilla unit.

Scholarship requires that erroneous statements must be corrected, but definitely it cannot join a campaign to tar and feather Marcos as a fake war hero, for he did fight in Bataan, trek the long Death March to Capas, go to prison in Fort Santiago, suffer torture from the Japanese while imprisoned at

the fort, and carry on guerilla warfare after his escape from prison. The citations on Marcos' bravery in World War II in Baclagon's *They Served With Honor: Filipino Heroes of World War II* were quoted from several general orders of the Headquarters of the Philippine Army, the earliest of which were dated 1946 and 1947 when Marcos was not yet a Congressman or Senator and the latest was 1963, when Marcos was not yet President of the Philippines. The President of the country, or Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces then, was President Diosdado Macapagal.

With regard to *Ang Mga Maharlika*, it was not only cited in the general orders from the Headquarters of the Philippine Army in 1946 but also included in a book on Philippine Government<sup>6</sup> published in 1948 by Maximo M. Kalaw, the most authoritative Filipino political scientist before World War II and during the early years of the Republic of the Philippines, as well as the first Filipino head of the Department of Political Science of the University of the Philippines.<sup>7</sup>

Granting for the sake of the argument, that Marcos did lie on some of his medals or military activities,<sup>8</sup> it does not follow that Marcos was no authentic war hero, for the records of World War II showed that he fought for the defense of the Republic with loyalty, courage, and patriotism.

Regarding the relentless condemnation of the alleged Marcos' lie about some or several of Marcos' military achievements, is this not only an *individual* lie, if he lied, but also less reprehensible than the *collective* lie made by the commissioners who formulated and drafted the 1987 Constitution? What is the lie made by the commissioners who drafted the 1987 Constitution? It is that statement in the "Transitory Provisions" of the 1987 Constitution which says: "[T]he incumbent President [Corazon C. Aquino] ... elected in the February 7, 1986 election."<sup>9</sup> This statement is a canard, for there exists an official document which declared that Ferdinand E. Marcos won the 1986 presidential election over Corazon C. Aquino with a margin of over a million votes.<sup>10</sup> Even the NAMFREL reports, both tentative and final,

cannot be conclusive evidences that Aquino won over Marcos, for the canvassed results in those reports were stopped when 70% (in the tentative report), and 74% (in the final report) of the votes were canvassed.<sup>11</sup> In any case, Madame Corazon C. Aquino smashed to smithereens the solidity of the truth of the statement of the Constitutional Commission when she officially declared in Proclamation No. 3 that "the new government was installed through a direct exercise of the power of the Filipino people assisted by the units of the New Armed Forces of the Philippines."<sup>12</sup>

## II

The strong foundations of the national leadership of Ferdinand E. Marcos as President of the Republic of the Philippines from December 30, 1965 to February 25, 1986 were the official positions he held and his activities he exercised while carrying out the roles or functions related to the various offices he occupied between 1947 and 1965.<sup>13</sup>

Starting as a technical assistant to President Manuel A. Roxas in 1947, Marcos subsequently was appointed by Roxas as a member of the Philippine Veterans Commission which was assigned to lobby for Filipino veterans' benefits in connection with a proposed legislation on a G.I. bill of rights and benefits then under consideration by the Congress of the United States. In this assignment of the Philippine lobby group, it was successful. Among the gains for Filipino veterans won by the commission was the establishment in Manila of the Philippine Veterans Administration. This agency was tasked to process veterans' benefits, such as hospitalization, education, and aid to widows and orphans.

In 1948 Marcos returned to his job as technical assistant to President Roxas, participating in the preparation of a survey of the natural resources of the Philippines, which was designed to rehabilitate and promote Philippine industry. Marcos' initial

work as lobbyist in Washington, D.C., and as member of President Roxas' economic planners paved the way for his several positions and roles in the Congress of the Philippines.

The spectacular succession of Marcos' political victories in the Congress of the Republic is recorded in the annals of the House of Representatives starting in 1949 and ending in the Senate in 1965. Marcos was elected as Congressman of Ilocos Norte in 1949, serving in that capacity for three consecutive terms. Thereafter, or in 1959, he decided to run for a seat in the upper chamber of the Congress, or the Senate. Marcos won in that election, garnering the highest number of votes among the winners in the upper chamber. In the Senate, Marcos served as minority leader and eventually as Senate President. In the Congress of the Philippines, he was a vigorous fiscalizer, prolific lawmaker, effective legislative leader and top official of the Liberal Party. In the 1961 presidential election, which was won by Diosdado Macapagal of the Liberal Party, Marcos served as campaign manager of the party and Macapagal.

Initiated into the workings of Philippine government in 1947 and 1948 and plunged into the rough and tumble of Philipine politics from 1949 to 1965, Marcos, was, therefore, fully prepared to assume national leadership as President of the Republic from December 30, 1965 to the last day of his stay in Malacañang on February 25, 1986, when he was forcibly expatriated from the country, owing to the outcome of the so-called EDSA People Power Revolution, or the extraconstitutional mutiny, or revolt, or *coup d'état* led by the then Minister of National Defense Juan Ponce Enrile and the Deputy Chief of Staff General Fidel V. Ramos.

A national leader, to be effective, must have at least two political resources — ideology or vision and a strong organization. These political resources are absolutely required to provide the main direction of the polity and the basic objectives of the leader, the strategy and tactics to be adopted in order that the goals and objectives can be realized, the justifying ideals to inspire the elites and the people, and the machine to steer the

polity to follow the polity's goals, to mobilize the people to support the leaders' objectives, to whip into line the sub-leaders to support the leaders' goals and objectives, and to implement strategy and tactics.

Combining the two required political resources of an effective leader—ideology or vision is dichotomized as With Ideology/Vision and No Ideology/Vision; and organization is divided into Strong Organization and Weak Organization, as diagrammed below — four models of leaders result. These are the *Supremo*, a leader with ideology/vision and strong organization; *Visionary*, a leader with ideology/vision and weak organization; *Organization Man*, a leader with no ideology/vision and with strong organization; and *Paradux*, a leader with no ideology/vision and with weak organization.

#### MODELS OF LEADERS<sup>14</sup> Ideology/Vision

	With Ideology/ Vision	With No Ideology/ Vision
Strong	SUPREMO	ORGANIZATION MAN
Weak	VISIONARY	PARADUX

In Philippine history, Andres Bonifacio, the Father of the Katipunan, is a good illustration of a Supremo.<sup>15</sup> His ideology/vision was embodied in his decalogue<sup>16</sup> and the political philosophy of Emilio Jacinto<sup>17</sup>, which Bonifacio adopted. His strong organization was the *Kataastaasang, Kagalanggalang na Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan*, or KKK, when it was not yet factionalized as conflicting *Magdalo* and *Magdiwang*. The Supremo is the most effective type of the four types of national leaders.

Jose Rizal, the national hero, is a good example of a Visionary.<sup>18</sup> His ideology/vision was embodied in his political

philosophy;<sup>19</sup> and his weak organization was the short-lived *Liga Filipina*. The Visionary is highly respected and invariably emulated, but lacking a strong organization, he is not effective in practical politics. In some cases, he is jailed or even put to death.

The traditional top military leaders of the Philippines with no ideology/vision of the national interest, and with strong organization — the unified armed forces — are illustrations of an Organization Man. The Organization Man is an effective leader as long as his organization remains strong and intact. As soon as it breaks down, or when it loses legitimacy, he is booted out or replaced by another leader.

The Paradux is the most ineffective of the four types of national leaders. The best example of the Paradux is the Filipino traditional politician in the Congress of the Philippines, thriving on patronage politics and muddling through his term of office. The term *Paradux* is a neologism derived from the Latin *dux*, literally meaning leader and the Greek *para*, one meaning of which is irregular or quasi, as in paramilitary, paralegal, or paramedical. The phrase *parang lider* in Pilipino is equivalent to *paradux*.

To what type of national leader did Ferdinand E. Marcos as President of the Republic belong? He was a Supremo, for Marcos had an ideology/vision and a strong organization.

The germinal idea of Marcos' ideology/vision was adumbrated in his inaugural address at the Luneta on December 30, 1965 which he delivered immediately after he took his oath as President of the Republic of the Philippines. In this speech, Marcos spoke of making the country "great again."<sup>20</sup> In order to realize this goal, he said that every Filipino citizen should be a hero, exerting great efforts to bring about the development of the nation. Marcos said:

This nation can be great again ... We must renew the vision of greatness for our country ... We must awaken the hero inherent in every man ... I ask for not one hero alone among you, but for many. In fact I ask for all of you to be heroes of our nation.

Offering all our efforts to the Creator, we must drive ourselves to be great again.<sup>21</sup>

The germinal idea of Marcos' vision developed into the concept of a "new society," which first appeared in 1971 in *Today's Revolution: Democracy*.<sup>22</sup> The basic ideas of Marcos' ideology were discussed in this book. The past and present characteristics of the Filipino polity were described and analyzed thus: the society was oligarchical, its constituent people were populist, personalist, and individualistic. As a result, the Filipino society and the polity could not modernize and develop. In order to effect the modernization and development of the Philippines, a revolution was absolutely necessary. However, the revolution Marcos had in mind was not the radical type, as what occurred in the French Revolution of 1789 which was bloody and violent; instead, he opted for a liberal type of revolution, as what happened in England in 1688, which was peaceful and non-violent, but still a revolution because it brought about a complete transformation of the English political order or regime.

The specific areas of the New Society addressed for total reform as envisioned by Marcos were identified in the acronym PLEDGES: "1. Peace and order; 2. Land reform; 3. Education reforms; 4. Development of moral values; 5. Governmental clean-up and reorganization; 6. Economic development; [and] 7. Social development."<sup>23</sup>

In the 1980's the seven concerns of the New Society were revised; however, they remained seven. As articulated in the platforms of the *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* (KBL) in the 1980 local elections, the 1981 presidential elections, the 1984 Batasan elections, and the 1986 "snap" presidential elections, these revised seven concerns were: (1) nationalism; (2) unity; (3) social justice; (4) barangay democracy; (5) efficient and honest development; (6) freedom of belief; and (7) ideals of the United Nations.<sup>24</sup>

The Marcos' vision in his ideology was focused on "the poor, the disadvantaged and the oppressed." As summarized in Marcos' *The Filipino Ideology* in the last chapter, "The Commitment of the National Leadership," this vision was put clearly:

We must intensify our efforts to reach our people at the grassroots, to make sure that government programs find expression in the daily lives of our people, to draw the poor, the disadvantaged and the oppressed into the mainstream of development. Development which will give the people a meaningful stake in the future of the country is still the best response to the elements that seek to destroy our society.<sup>25</sup>

Marcos' strong organization was a political party, the *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* or KBL. The KBL began its life as a social movement to promote the ideology of the martial law regime in 1978. It was initially organized as an umbrella organization composed of Nacionalistas, Liberals, and others. Hence, in the organizational meeting held in Malacañang on February 1, 1978, the name adopted for the organization was *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan ng mga Nagkakaisang Nacionalista, Liberal, at Iba Pa* (New Society of United Nacionalistas, Liberals and Others),<sup>26</sup> abbreviated as KBL.

On December 1, 1979, the KBL formally became a full-fledged party;<sup>27</sup> and on September 26, 1981 the Supreme Court also recognized the KBL as a party.<sup>28</sup> The KBL evolved to become a political party controlled and centralized by the President of the Republic in an amendment of the Rules of the KBL in 1981, which provided that if the President of the Republic belonged to the KBL, he was to be the President of the party, exercising the powers of the chief executive of the party and chairman of the central committee.<sup>29</sup>

Because President Marcos was armed with an ideology/vision and a strong organization, he developed to be a very effective national leader. On the one hand, his ideology/vision, which was propagated in the entire country through workshops, seminars, and conferences by government employees and officials and by the military in all levels, provided general goals of the government and specific objectives of the bureaucracy and the military, justification for the officialdom, especially the President, and hope for the people with regard to their dismal lives. The Marcos ideology/vision also provided Marcos with an inter-

pretation and explanation of the past and present of Philippine society, and a program of action for its future. On the other hand, the KBL provided President Marcos with a political machine to mobilize votes for his candidates in the Batasang Pambansa and the local governments and an agency to whip into line the Batasan members and the bureaucracy to support the measures of the President. Moreover, the KBL also served as link between the government and the people.

The great achievements of President Marcos as national leader in the domestic and foreign policy arenas<sup>30</sup> are the concrete results of his being a Supremo, a leader with vision and a strong organization.

In the area of foreign policy, the notable achievements of President Marcos, among others, were the reduction of the 99-year term of the American bases to 25 years, which fact became the basis for the provision in the 1987 Constitution that, if no treaty was agreed upon between the Philippines and the United States, the American bases would be terminated by 1991; the vigorous promotion of Southeast Asian cooperation and security through the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN); the broadening of the ambit and orbit of Philippine international relations by the opening of diplomatic relations with communist countries, such as the People's Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and advocacy and promotion of the establishment of a new world economic order based on the modernization and development of Third World nations.

In the realm of domestic policy, Marcos was the first President to formulate a Filipino ideology; to advocate and promote barangay democracy; to give concrete recognition to Filipino national artists and scientists; to restore the ancient walls and other historic buildings in Intramuros; to green the Quezon Memorial Circle; to enact and implement a significant land reform law; and to establish a Ministry of Energy, a Ministry of Tourism, a Ministry of Human Settlements, and other new agencies designed to cope with new developments and emerging problems of the country. Under the Marcos administration, among

many others, the Development Academy of the Philippines was established; the Light Railway Transit was built; the geothermal projects in Tiwi and elsewhere were constructed; hospitals like the Heart Center, the Lung Center, and the like were put in place; the North and South Expressways were completed; the Philippine International Convention Center and the Cultural Center of the Philippines were finished; numerous schools were constructed in Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao; and hundreds of infrastructures, such as roads, bridges, airports, piers and the like were built all over the country.

### III

Expatriated from the Philippines to Hawaii — Marcos wanted to be brought to Paoay, Ilocos Norte but his American pilot from the United States Air Force instead brought him to Guam, thence to Hawaii<sup>31</sup> — the exiled President died in Honolulu, on September 28, 1989. One year before he passed away, bent on vindicating his name and honor at the Sandiganbayan where some civil cases on his sequestered properties had been filed, Marcos sent to the Sandiganbayan his pleading which by eerie development reached the Supreme Court when it was submitted there as an annex to the memorandum of Estelito Mendoza and Arturo Tolentino in the case of *Marcos vs. Manglapus*. Marcos said in his pleading:

Fifty years thence [since the Nalundasan Case], the undersigned finds himself again and alone fighting for his liberty. But this is a more difficult fight, a fight that could smother even the staunchest of spirits. In the twilight of his years, the undersigned is accused of the economic plunder of his people and a conglomeration of crimes whose penalties will take more than a lifetime to serve. The accusation so masterfully spread out around the world by his political detractors has stained and stigmatized his name, the only priceless possession of any man. Against the use and misuse of the government's panoply of powers..., [a]midst the... doubt about the impartiality of our judiciary and against contrary

counsel, the undersigned comes without pause, to knock at the door of this Tribunal, seeking to enter and be afforded a chance, however it may be, to vindicate his innocence, his name and reputation.

He pleads for simple fairness, nothing more, nothing less. The government wants to try him by publicity. He cries for a trial by due process.<sup>32</sup> The government wants to try him *in absentia*. He pleads for a trial in his presence. The government wants to try and convict him on the basis of *ex parte* evidence. He prays for a chance to examine the evidence against him. The government wants to try him while he is 10,000 miles away in the United States. He says he is a Filipino and he cannot be denied the right to return to his homeland for there is no man without a country.<sup>33</sup>

The Sandiganbayan never gave him an opportunity to vindicate his name and honor as Marcos had pleaded; and the Supreme Court, while trying the case of *Marcos vs. Manglapus*, also denied him that opportunity as Marcos had pleaded. Instead, the Supreme Court, in a decision invoking the principle of residual power or presidential prerogative that had been smashed to death by at least three great liberal democratic revolutions — the American Revolution of 1776, the French Revolution of 1789, and the Philippine Revolution of 1896 — and had been replaced by the modern principle of constitutionalism and by presenting a distinction between the right to travel and the right to return whose logic is classificatory hocus-pocus, denied the return of the Marcoses, especially Ferdinand E. Marcos, alive or dead.<sup>34</sup>

However, the vindication which Marcos could not obtain from the Philippine judiciary was won by Marcos in the United States, a venue chosen by the Aquino administration<sup>35</sup> on the strong belief that American justice was more reliable than Philippine justice which moved frustratingly slow and could be corrupted by corrupt judges. In the case involving alleged violations of the RICO law in New York on four counts — racketeering, racketeering conspiracy, obstruction of justice, and mail fraud — Marcos was exonerated indirectly. His exoneration was indirect, for he was medically severed earlier and later, after he died, permanently removed from the case; but it is a fact that he

continued to be accused on all four counts during the testimony of the witnesses, the opening and closing arguments of the prosecution, and the deliberation of the jurors. Marcos was also defended throughout the hearing of the RICO cases by the Marcos lawyer. Hence, when Imelda R. Marcos was exonerated by the jury on all four counts against the Marcoses, the jury also exonerated Ferdinand E. Marcos indirectly on all four counts involving the RICO law.<sup>36</sup>

Marcos' exoneration of bribery in *Republic of the Philippines vs. Westinghouse* at Newark, New Jersey, was direct, for the jury decision of no bribery in the Westinghouse case was explicit and direct.<sup>37</sup>

The Marcos vindication in New York and New Jersey is only a partial vindication. His full vindication will come when the Filipino people realize that Marcos was an authentic war hero, a national leader with great achievements, and finally as a great man of peace.

Having discussed Marcos as a war hero and national leader with great achievements, this essay now concludes as it was begun: Marcos was a great man of peace.

The sufficient condition of the greatness of any man is revealed in his last decision on a critical issue involving personal/national interest or the final value of human civilization. If he opts for the national interest, sacrificing his personal interest, or he chooses the final value of human civilization — it is posited that peace is the final value of human civilization — then this man is great.

Augustine had committed practically all the sins of man in his youth,<sup>38</sup> but he was redeemed in middle age when he made the final decision to be a true Christian and the advocate of peace in the *De Civitate Dei*.<sup>39</sup> The second convicted criminal who was to be crucified with Jesus Christ at Mt. Golgotha was also finally redeemed when he made the decision to recognize that Jesus Christ was the Lord.<sup>40</sup> In other words, a man may have sinned or committed crimes, but if his last decision is a

great decision, he will be redeemed.

Marcos' greatness as a man of peace was revealed in his last but shining moments at Malacafang during a national and international TV interview beamed nationwide and worldwide. It was the morning of February 25, 1986. Accompanied by his top generals, including General Fabian Ver, his Chief of Staff, Marcos was addressing the critical and crucial issue of the so-called EDSA Revolution. General Ver, who was shown clearly on the television screen to be nervous of the tense and critical situation, interrupted President Marcos several times, an action General Ver never did in the past. But in that crucial morning, he did interrupt his Commander-in-Chief. The Marcos-Ver dialogue on TV went this way:

*Ver:* We have to immobilize the helicopters they've got. We have two fighter planes flying now to strike at any time, sir.

*Marcos:* My order is not to attack ...

*Ver:* They are massing civilians near our troops and we cannot keep on withdrawing. You asked me to withdraw yesterday.

*Marcos:* (Interrupting): My order is to disperse without shooting them.

*Ver:* We cannot withdraw all the time.

*Marcos:* No, no, no. Hold on, you disperse the crowds without shooting them. You may use any other weapon.<sup>41</sup>

Marcos, by opting not to fire on the crowds and not to shed the blood of Filipinos also opted for his fall from power. His expatriation from the Philippines and exile in Hawaii began when he opted for peace instead of violent confrontation, thus saving the lives of hundreds of Filipinos at EDSA. He was no tyrant like President Yang Shangkun who ordered the massacre of hundreds of people at Tiananmen Square in Beijing on June 3-4, 1989. He was no Hitler who incinerated millions of Jews in Germany during the dark days of World War II. He was not even a Truman who authorized the dropping of atomic bombs on the hapless cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, where thou-

ounds of people were killed. Marcos was a great man of peace.

Marcos issued a letter, dated February 28, 1986, from Hawaii why he decided the way he did. Portions of the letter said:

I have been called brave in my time, but brave as I may have been against foreign invaders, I have no heart to shed Filipino blood. My life has been devoted to the upliftment of the Filipino by reestablishing his identity and dignity. And so, knowing I could lose everything, I chose to exercise my authority to protect the Filipino people.<sup>42</sup>

Marcos' decision during those crucial moments of February 25, 1986 showed clearly that he was a great man of peace, full of wisdom and with a keen sense of history. His great idol, Dr. Jose P. Laurel, the President of the Second Republic of the Philippines, who saved him three times, had made a similar decision in the past. Marcos followed his idol and mentor. He also learned from Hitler's case, and many other cases in history, that one may be victorious by using force and violence but eventually he would be eternally condemned. The lesson he learned from Laurel was brought out in an interview to Magsaysay's biographer when Laurel was asked why he was withdrawing as a presidential candidate in 1953 and supporting Ramon Magsaysay as presidential candidate instead. Laurel told the Magsaysay biographer:

I was cheated in 1949. If I run and am cheated again I am afraid this time there will be bloodshed, and I do not want my name to go down in history as being responsible for so much bloodshed in a fight among Filipinos.<sup>43</sup>

This decision by Marcos was also following the way of the national hero, Jose Rizal. Marcos, who advocated a politics of heroism in his inaugural address on Rizal Day, 1965, remembered the famous patriotic lines in Rizal's "Ultimo Adios":

*Que es hermoso caer por darte vuelo,  
Morir por darte vida.*<sup>44</sup>  
(How beautiful it is to fall that you may rise,  
To die that you may live.)

President Ronald Reagan recognized Marcos' decision as a decision of a great man of peace. In a letter to President Marcos,

Reagan said:

Dear Ferdinand,

Rarely is a national leader called upon to make a single decision as crucial to the future of his country as the one which you reached yesterday. I believe you have chosen wisely and that your decision, although encompassing considerable personal sacrifice, reflects your deep concern for the safety, welfare, and security of the Filipino people.

In your departure from power, you have demonstrated the very same remarkable courage and determination — you have chosen peace over confrontation, and democracy over anarchy. I believe that after all is said and done, your countrymen will remember you for this deed above all others.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan<sup>45</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>For a brief discussion of the military career of Ferdinand E. Marcos, see Uldarico S. Baclagon, *Military History of the Philippines* (Manila: Saint Mary's Pub., 1975), Chapter XVIII, "The Saga of Ferdinand E. Marcos," pp. 296-308.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted by Uldarico S. Baclagon, in *They Served With Honor: Filipino Heroes of World War II* (Quezon City: DM Press, 1968), pp. 153-154.

<sup>3</sup>Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 34-35. The document cited was General Order No. 154, Headquarters Philippine Army, 20 December 1947.

<sup>4</sup>Baclagon, *Military History of the Philippines*, p. 296.

<sup>5</sup>The deluge poured in the last week of January and first week of February, 1986. For instance, the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* on January 24, 1986 came out with the banner headline "Full text of NY Times article/story on fake Maharlika war claims/US: FM led fake guerillas. On the same day, *Business Day* published an article "Marcos war exploits, doubted." (p. 28) *Veritas* on January 25, 1986 issued an "Extra" of 16 pages entitled "The Whole Truth About Marcos' War Record/Complete with Documents, Photos."

<sup>6</sup>*Philippine Government* (Manila: Published by the author, 1948). In this book, Professor Kalaw said: "The Maharlika was another group led by the young and brilliant lawyer, Ferdinand Marcos, a U.P. graduate and a friend of [Macario] Peralta. He was trying to contact the Panay leader in the middle of 1944." p. 199.

<sup>7</sup>Remigio E. Agpalo, "The Political Science of Dr. Maximo M. Kalaw," *Philippine Political Science Journal*, No. 31 and 32 (June and December 1990): 21-38.

<sup>8</sup>On this particular point, this author does not take a categorical position of agreement or disagreement, for this author has had no opportunity to confirm or disconfirm the truth of the allegations of Marcos' detractors. To confirm or disconfirm the truth of the allegations, it is necessary to examine critically the documents in the National Archives in the United States. This author has neither time nor funds to go to the United States for this purpose.

<sup>9</sup>R.P. 1987 Constitution, Art. XVIII, Sec. 5.

<sup>10</sup>First Batasang Pambansa, Republic of the Philippines, Resolution No. 38, February 15, 1986.

<sup>11</sup>See full text of the tentative NAMFREL Report in *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, February 16, 1986, p. 5. For the final report, see National Citizens Movement for Free Elections, *The NAMFREL REPORT on the February 7, 1986 Presidential Elections*, 165 pp. Place and date of publication not indicated.

<sup>12</sup>The full text of Proclamation No. 3, dated March 25, 1986, is published in *Philippine Law Gazette*, Vol. 8, No. 12, January-February 1986, pp. 2-5. The quoted excerpt is the first "Whereas" clause of the proclamation.

<sup>13</sup>For a biography of Ferdinand E. Marcos by a sympathetic author, see Hartzell Spence, *Marcos of the Philippines* ([Manila]: 1979). For a full-length

book on the political career of Marcos by a critical author, see Lewis E. Gleeck, Jr., *President Marcos and the Philippine Political Culture* (Manila: Loyal Printing, Inc., 1987).

<sup>14</sup>These models were first presented in Remigio E. Agpalo, "Leadership and Types of Filipino Leaders: Focus on Ferdinand E. Marcos and Corazon C. Aquino," *Praxis*, III (December 1989): 21-44. They are also to be found as republished in Remigio E. Agpalo, *Adventures in Political Science* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press and College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, 1992), pp. 201-215.

<sup>15</sup>For an excellent biography of Andres Bonifacio and account of the Katipunan, see Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1950).

<sup>16</sup>Teodoro A. Agoncillo, ed., *The Writings and Trials of Andres Bonifacio* (Manila: Bonifacio Centennial Commission, 1963), pp. 1 and 67.

<sup>17</sup>Remigio E. Agpalo, *Liwanag at Dilim: The Political Philosophy of Emilio Jacinto* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Pres, 1977).

<sup>18</sup>Two excellent biographies of Jose Rizal are Austin Coates, *Rizal: Philippine Nationalist and Martyr* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1968); and Leon Ma. Guerrero, *The First Filipino* (Manila: National Heroes Commission, 1963).

<sup>19</sup>Remigio E. Agpalo, "Jose Rizal: National Hero and His Ideas of Political Modernization," *Solidarity*, 4 (December 1969): 1-14.

<sup>20</sup>Ferdinand E. Marcos, *Presidential Speeches* (Manila 1978), Vol. I, p. 4.

<sup>21</sup>

*Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>22</sup>(Manila: 1971).

<sup>23</sup>Filemon C. Rodriguez, *The Marcos Regime* (Quezon City: MOED Press, 1985), p. 119.

<sup>24</sup>*Bulletin Today*, January 15, 1980, p. 12.

<sup>25</sup>Ferdinand E. Marcos, *The Filipino Ideology* (Manila: Marcos Foundation, Inc., 1985), p. 153.

<sup>26</sup>*Lakas ng Bayan (LABAN) vs. Commission on Elections (COMELEC)*, 28 SCRA 196. Promulgated on March 25, 1978. See Appendix A – Annex A and Appendix B – Annex B of this case, pp. 213-18.

<sup>27</sup>Legal Affairs Center [of KBL], Status of KBL as a Political Party, "Kilusang Bagong Lipunan, Metro Manila, no date. (Mimeo.), p.2.

<sup>28</sup>*Geronimo vs. COMELEC et al.*, 107 SCRA 614. Promulgated September 26, 1981.

<sup>29</sup>Kilusang Bagong Lipunan, Revised Rules of the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan, Manila, April 25, 1981 (Mimeo.), Art. X, C. Secs. 9 and 50.

<sup>30</sup>A partial listing of these achievements is found in Francisco E. Pasion, *The Incomparable Achievements of President Ferdinand E. Marcos*, ([Manila: Charita Pinca-Sy, 1989]).

<sup>31</sup>David Briscoe, in "Perspective from Washington," wrote: "President Corazon Aquino insisted that the ousted president be taken to Hawaii and not to Paoay as he apparently demanded." Reprinted column in *Manila Chronicle*, September 23, 1989, p. 5. Arturo C. Aruiza, in his book *Ferdinand E. Marcos: Malacañang to Makiki* (Quezon City: A C Aruiza Enterprises, 1991) said that President Marcos was kidnapped by the Americans, for Marcos wanted to go to his home province, Ilocos Norte, but owing to the decisions of officials of the U.S. government at the highest levels and the highest officials of the newly established Aquino government, Marcos was taken to the United States. Chapter 6, "Kidnapped," pp. 152-172.

<sup>32</sup>In the present crisis of the Supreme Court catalyzed by Vice President Joseph Estrada when he made an exposé on the so-called "hoodlums in robes," the highest tribunal, after it was savagely subjected to a trial by publicity, invoked a trial by due process of law, as Marcos had cried in his pleading.

<sup>33</sup>Ferdinand E. Marcos, "Ferdinand E. Marcos' Opposition to Motion to Strike Out: In Support of His Right to Return Home," Annex (pp. 4-5) to Tolentino's and Mendoza's "Memorandum," in *Marcos vs. Manglapus*, G.R. No. 88211, 1989.

<sup>34</sup>Remigio E. Agpalo, "Marcos vs. Manglapus: A Case That Put Both Ferdinand E. Marcos and the Supreme Court on Trial," *Philippine Political Science Journal*, Nos. 29 and 30 (June and December 1989): 1-24. Also republished in Remigio E. Agpalo, *Adventures in Political Science* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press and College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, 1992), pp. 259-274.

<sup>35</sup>When former President Corazon C. Aquino opted for the trial of the Marcoses in New York by Americans, she allowed the violation of Philippine sovereignty. Firmly established and fully recognized in international relations and international law, sovereignty is a power and right jealously guarded by states or their governments, for any diminution or violation of national sovereignty is diminution or violation of national honor, dignity, and integrity.

<sup>36</sup>Louise Molina, "The Battle of the Bird [The Imelda Marcos Trial Involving the RICO Law in New York]," *Philippines Free Press*, July 14, 1990, pp. 4-6, 15, 26 and 32.

<sup>37</sup>Michael Dueñas, "Debacle in New Jersey," *Philippine Free Press*, May 29, 1993, pp. 6, 8 & 16.

<sup>38</sup>Augustine. *Confessions*, tr. by Rex Warner (New York: Mentor-Omega Books, 1963).

<sup>39</sup>Augustine. *The City of God* (New York: Modern Book Library, Random House, Inc., 1950).

<sup>40</sup>Luke 23: 39-43.

<sup>41</sup>*Philippine Sunday Express*, March 2, 1986, p. 6.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Jose V. Abueva, *Ramon Magsaysay: A Political Biography* (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1971), p. 224.

"Jose Rizal's "Ultimo Adios" is published in full text in Leon Ma. Guerrero, *The First Filipino: A Biography of Jose Rizal* (Manila: Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission, 1963), pp. 481-482.

<sup>44</sup> Letter of Ronald Reagan to Ferdinand E. Marcos, February 26, 1986.









